

Message Text

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ORIGIN ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ISO-00 NSC-05 DODE-00 SS-15 PM-04

L-03 ERDA-05 AF-06 ARA-06 CIAE-00 EA-07 EUR-12 H-02

INR-07 NASA-01 NSAE-00 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01

OES-03 USIA-06 SAJ-01 /120 R

DRAFTED BY ACDA/IR:REINHORN/WGIVAN

APPROVED BY IO:RBLAKE

NSC:DELLIOTT/JMARCUM

DOD:GHARLOW

C:WSHINN - ACDA/NWT:RHARKAVY

S/S- MR.ORTIZ

NEA/PAB:RPECK

PM:HPHELPS

L:MMATHESON

IO/UNP:RLONG

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 262035

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, UN, PK

SUBJECT: UNGA DISARMAMENT -- PAKISTANI DRAFT RES ON
SECURITY ASSURANCES

1. AS AMB. MARTIN INDICATED TO SHAHI, WE COULD NOT ACCEPT
PAKISTANI DRAFT RES IN PRESENT FORM. NOR COULD WE SUPPORT
ALTERNATIVE FORMULATIONS THAT INDICATED ANY CHANGE IN US
POLICY ON NON-USE SECURITY ASSURANCES. BASIC PROBLEM WITH
DRAFT CONTAINED REFTEL IS THAT, IN CONTRAST WITH RESOLUTION
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SPONSORED BY PAKISTAN LAST YEAR WHICH WE SUPPORTED, IT (A)

FOCUSES RESPONSIBILITY FOR STRENGTHENING SECURITY OF NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES (NNWS) ON NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES (NWS) AND (B) DEALS PRIMARILY WITH NON-USE ASSURANCES RATHER THAN WITH MORE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF STRENGTHENING SECURITY OF NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES.

2. US POSITION, AS PRESENTED AT NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE MAY, IS THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER ALL PROMISING MEANS OF STRENGTHENING NNWS SECURITY, BUT THAT WE DO NOT BELIEVE PROVISION OF NON-USE ASSURANCES ON WORLDWIDE BASIS IS A DESIRABLE APPROACH TO THAT OBJECTIVE. SUCH ASSURANCES COULD, IN A NUMBER OF CASES, BE SEEN AS UNDERCUTTING "POSITIVE ASSURANCES" PROVIDED TO NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES IN CONTEXT OF MUTUAL SECURITY AGREEMENTS. EFFECT COULD BE TO WEAKEN

ABILITY TO DETER ARMED ATTACK AGAINST SUCH STATES, THUS DECREASING THEIR SECURITY. (THIS PROBLEM WOULD NOT BE SOLVED BY EXCLUDING ALLIANCE MEMBERS FROM COVERAGE OF NON-USE ASSURANCE, AS IN OP PARA ONE OF PAKISTANI DRAFT.) IN ADDITION, WE STRONGLY DOUBT THAT NON-USE ASSURANCES FAVORED BY PAKS WOULD ALLEVIATE ACTUAL SECURITY CONCERNS OF MANY NNWS. MOST PRESSING CONCERN OF NNWS IS OFTEN POSSIBILITY OF CONVENTIONAL ATTACK, AND SOURCE OF CONCERN IS OFTEN NEIGHBORING NNWS. FOR THESE REASONS, WE CALLED AT REVCON FOR BROADENING ISSUE FROM NARROW FOCUS ON NON-USE ASSURANCES TO GENERAL CONSIDERATION OF MEASURES THAT WOULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE AS MEANS OF MEETING LEGITIMATE AND OFTEN PRESSING SECURITY CONCERNS OF NNWS.

3. WHILE WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO ALTER US POLICY ON NON-USE QUESTION, WE WOULD LIKE TO BE AS FORTHCOMING AS POSSIBLE TO SHAHI'S REQUEST THAT WE CONSIDER MOVING BEYOND 1974 UNGA RES AND THAT WE SUGGEST ALTERNATIVE FORMULATIONS IF PRESENT TEXT IS NOT ACCEPTABLE. ACCORDINGLY, DRAWING AS APPROPRIATE ON PARA TWO ABOVE, DEL SHOULD EXPLAIN WHY US CANNOT ACCEPT RES IN CURRENT FORM AND INDICATE THAT, IN LIGHT OF IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO ISSUE BY PAKISTAN, WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT RES PROVIDED FOLLOWING CHANGES WERE MADE:

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A. FIRST PREAMBULAR PARA: REPLACE "ASSURED AGAINST NUCLEAR ATTACK OR THREAT" WITH "STRENGTHENED."

B. DELETE THIRD PREAMBULAR PARA. (REFERENCE TO "NO PROGRESS" OVERLOOKS RECOMMENDATIONS OF REVCON AND IGNORES IMPLICATIONS FOR STRENGTHENING NNWS SECURITY OF WORK IN OTHER FORUMS, INCLUDING IAEA AND CCD.)

C. ADD FOLLOWING PREAMBULAR PARA: "RECOGNIZING THAT, IN LIGHT OF DIFFERING SECURITY SITUATIONS OF NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES, VARIOUS APPROPRIATE MEANS MAY BE NECESSARY TO MEET THEIR SECURITY CONCERNS;" (THIS IS PARAPHRASED FROM REVCON DECLARATION. FYI: WHILE INCLUSION OF PARA ALONG THESE LINES WOULD SUPPORT US POSITION, WE WOULD NOT INSIST ON IT. END FYI.)

D. REPLACE OP PARA ONE WITH FOLLOWING: "URGES ALL STATES TO REFRAIN, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES, INVOLVING EITHER NUCLEAR OR NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS." (THIS IS BASED ON JAPANESE SECURITY FORMULATION WHICH WAS ADOPTED AT REVCON BY CONSENSUS.)

E. CHANGE OP PARA TWO TO READ AS FOLLOWS: "FURTHER URGES ALL STATES, PARTICULARLY THE NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES, TO CONSIDER THE ADOPTION OF OTHER MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN THE SECURITY OF NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES."

4. IF PAKISTANIS ARE UNWILLING TO ACCEPT ABOVE CHANGES, DEL MAY OFFER TO ADD FOLLOWING PHRASE AFTER "OTHER MEASURES" IN E ABOVE AND SUPPORT REVISED RES IF DEL BELIEVES INCLUSION OF PHRASE IS ESSENTIAL TO PERSUADE PAKS TO ALTER THEIR APPROACH: "INCLUDING THE PROVISION BY NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES OF APPROPRIATE ASSURANCES." (SHOULD PAKS BE RECEPTIVE TO INCLUSION OF THIS PHRASE, DEL MAY POINT OUT TO US ALLIES THAT PARA WOULD SIMPLY CALL ON STATES TO "CONSIDER" OTHER MEASURES AND THAT THE TERM "APPROPRIATE ASSURANCES" COVERS BROAD RANGE OF ACTIONS IN SECURITY FIELD, INCLUDING ACTIONS PURSUANT TO SECURITY ALLIANCES.)
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